GEORGE P. GOFF.

merce, or enterprise, or ambition, its citizens capital and labor respectively on its intelligence, its defence, its tranquillity, its integrity or unity, its defence, its prosperity, its liberty, its happiness, its aggrandizement, and its fame. In other words, the great question arises, whether slavery social, and political evil. This is the slavery question at home. But there is a mutual bond f amity and brotherhood between man and man throughout the world. Nations examine freely the political systems of each other, and of all preceding times, and accordingly as they apove or disapprove of the two systems of capi tal and labor respectively, they sanction and prosecute, or condemn and prohibit, commerce men. Thus, in one way or in another, the slavery question, which so many among us, who nore willing to rule than patient in studying the conditions of society, think is a merely accidental or unnecessary question, that might and ought to be settled and dismissed at once, is, on the contrary, a world-wide and enduring subject of political consideration and civil adstration. Men, states, and nations, ntertain it, not voluntarily, but because the progress of society continually brings it into their way. They divide upon it, not perversely, but because, owing to differences of constitution, condition,

The fathers of the Republic encountered it They even adjusted it so that it might have given us much less than our present disquiet not circumstances afterwards occurred which they, wise as they were, had not clearly foreseen. Although they had inherited, yet they rally condemned, the practice of slavery, and Independence, as a fundamental principle of American society, that all men are created equal, and have inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Each State, however, reserved to itself exclusive political power over ne subject of slavery within its own borders. their consultations on a bond of Federal Union The new Government was to be a representative capital had no investments in labor puld those slaves be represented as capital or persons, taxed as capital or as persons, should they not be represented or taxed all? The fathers disagreed, debated long, and compromised at last. Each State, they determined, shall have two Senators in Con-Three-fifths of the slaves shall be elsehere represented and be taxed as persons. That should be done if the slave should escape into a labor State? Should that State confess him to be a chattel, and restore kim as such, or might it regard him as a person, and harbor and protect him as a man? They compromised ain, and decided that no person held to labor or service in one State by the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, by any law or regution of that State, be discharged from such sbor or service, but shall be delivered upon claim person to whom such labor or service

Proc laborers would immigrate, and slaves night be imported into the States. The fathers greed that Congress may establish uniform laws tion, and it might prohibit the imof persons after 1808. Communities the Southwest, detached from the Southern States, were growing up in the practice of slavery, to be capital States. New States would soon grow up in the Northwest, while as yet capital stood aloof, and labor had not lifted the The fathers authorized Congress to make all seedful rules and regulations concerning the anagement and disposition of the public lands, and to admit new States. So the Constitution. bile it does not disturb or affect the system of tal in slaves, existing in any State under its laws, does, at the same lime, recognise human being, when within any exclusive Federal jurisdiction, not as capital, but

nat was the action of the fathers in Cons? They admitted the new States of the thwest as capital States, because it was practly impossible to do otherwise, and by the dinance of 1787, confirmed in 1789, they pro-ided for the organization and admission of only bor States in the Northwest. They directed o immigrant free laborers, and they prohib-te trade in African labor. This disposition whole subject was in harmony with the a of society, and in the main with the the age. The seven Northern States rit of the age. The seven Northern States atentedly became labor States by their own a. The six Southern States, with equal trany and by their own determination, remain-

Solvemen the States and their citizens has been a second to the second the states and often excited discussion. It is in my way only to the excited discussion, the is in my way only to the excited discussion. It is in my way only to the excited discussion of the second the states in the second the second that the control of the second that the seco

ent, in relation to these conquests. The defenders of labor took alarm lest the number of new capital States might become so great as to enable that class of States to dictate the whole policy of the Government; and in case of constitutional resistance, then to form a new slaveholding confederacy around the Gulf of Mexico. By this time the capital States seemed to have become fixed in a determination that the Federal Government, and even the labor States, should recognise their slaves, though outside of the United States, as property of which the master could not be in any way or by any authority divested; and the labor States, having become now more essentially Democratic than ever be-fore, by reason of the great development of free labor, more firmly than ever ineisted on the constitutional doctrine that slaves voluntarily car-

ried by their masters into the common Territories, or into labor States, are persons, men.
Under the auspicious influences of a Whig success, California and New Mexico appeared before Congress as labor States. The capital States refused to consent to their admission into the Union; and again threats of disunion carried terror and consternation throughout the land. Another compromise was made. Specific enactments admitted California as a labor State, and remanded New Mexico and Utah to remain Territories, with the right to choose freedom or gave new remedies for the recaption of fugitives from service, and abolished the open slave market in the District of Columbia. These new ensciments, collated with the existing statutes namely, the ordinance of 1787, the Missouri prohibitory law of 1820, and the articles of Texas annexation, disposed by law of the subject of slavery in all the Territories of the United States. And so the compromise of 1850 was pronounced a full, final, absolute, and comprehensive settlement of all existing and all possible disputes concerning slavery under the Federal authority. The two great parties, fearful for the Union, struck hands in making and in presenting this as an adjustment, never afterwards to be open-ed, disturbed, or even questioned, and the people scepted it by majorities unknown before. The new President, chosen over an illustrious rival, nnequivocally on the ground of greater ability, even if not more reliable purpose, to maintain the new treaty inviolate, made haste to justify this expectation when Congress assembled. He said:

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ous and confiding people disappointments, disasters, and calamities, equal to those which the Government of the United States holds now suspended over so large a portion of the centinent Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York,

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